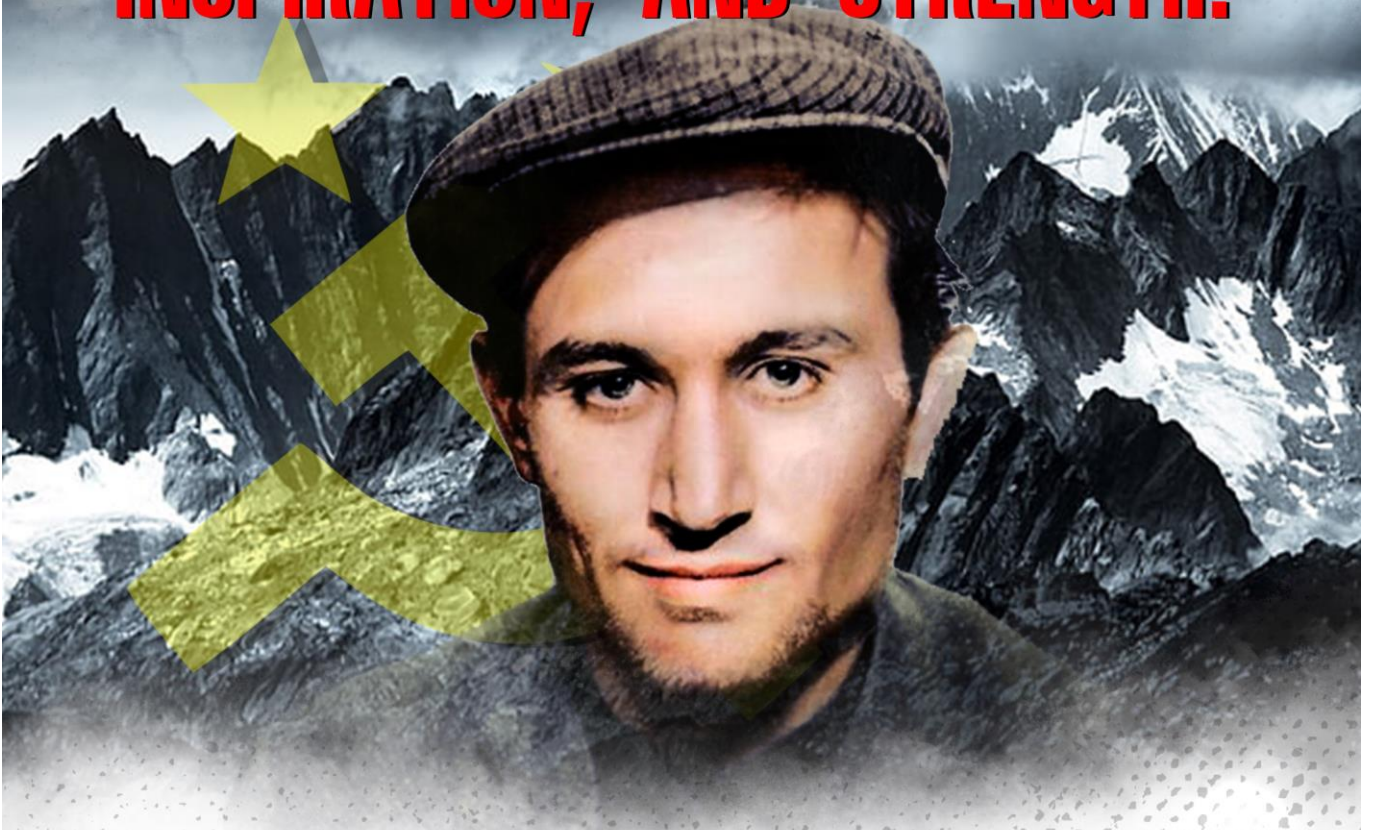




**OUR PARTY IS OUR GUIDE,
INSPIRATION, AND STRENGTH!**



COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY- MARXIST LENINIST

50th Anniversary: Our Party is our guide, inspiration, and strength!

April 24, 1972, went down in history as the institutionalization of the torch that was kept in the dark by a handful of communists led by İbrahim Kaypakkaya. The tradition of war and resistance of the time was interwoven with Mahir and Deniz. The momentum gained in the anti-imperialist struggle led to a revolutionary militant struggle. Comrade İbrahim entered the war front as a representative of the proletariat. He clarified the main questions of the Turkish revolution with the analytical power of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology and thematized chauvinism, Kemalism; It formed the basis of the proletariat party by inflicting heavy blows on all forms of reformism, revisionism and opportunism that nestled in the "left". This date also announced the resumption of the communist struggle in Turkey after comrade Mustafa Suphi.

Today, despite 50 years, the significance of April 24 remains current. Half a century! long for one person; a short time in the history of societies and class struggles.... April 24 is our source of inspiration and strength, both as our perspective and as a spirit of struggle and breakthrough to overcome all the problems we face in our struggle for communism in all fronts. April 24 is the product of anti-imperialist youth actions, land occupations, peasant resistance and the Great Workers' Resistance of June 15-16. Periodically it is the product of people's wars, the Vietnam resistance, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theses of Kaypakkaya for the Turkish revolution have developed in the student protests itself, in the workers' resistance and strikes, especially in the Great Workers' Resistance of 15-16 June 1970, in the peasants' struggle, that is, in the revolutionary practice of the masses themselves, as in the rural struggle of the villagers of Değirmendere, and the lessons of these resistances have matured through the fusion with the science of MLM.

It is therefore, even though half a century has passed, that İbrahim Kaypakkaya's theses on the Turkish revolution are still relevant. Kaypakkaya's strict adherence to the principle of being, a revolutionary in practice first, resulted in his theses' continuation to guide the revolutionary and communist movement, while the communist movement in our country rose again. Therefore, talking about the foundation and basic ideological structure of our party also means talking about İbrahim Kaypakkaya.

Revolutionary in practice, theory building in practically revolutionary activity, MLM is a principle and a guarantee of science. Since the basis on which the Communist Party stands on, are the class struggles of our country, the theses derived from the mass movements, will be prevailing and scientific if the class struggle and the mass movements continue.

The leader who throws away the stale and becomes current: Kaypakkaya!

The Proletariat Party was founded in 1972 by İbrahim Kaypakkaya. Kaypakkaya previously practiced revolutionary activities in various student associations and wrote articles for various revolutionary magazines during his student days. He first became a member of the then Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) from the moment he realized that it was necessary to participate in practice and to organize to forge a revolution. When he realized after some time that the WPT (TİP) was not a revolutionary party and was satisfied with the parliamentary struggle, he resigned and joined the struggle in the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey (TİİKP), which at that time was engaging in underground struggle. His activity in both TİP and TİİKP is at the same time an unceasing study, research, and writing activity. In addition, his participation in direct practices such as student and youth actions, peasant resistances and land occupations, workers' strikes, and the resistance of the 15th-16th June, the struggles of these classes and strata helps him with the social reality and leading to an accelerated maturity of his thoughts.

He began his activities in Turkish Kurdistan just after the 1970s. This phase of activity was the turning point for Kaypakkaya's maturing political ideas to be turned into a program. On the one hand, he created a blueprint of a socio-economic structure through regional analysis, and on the other hand, he collected his observations on the national problem. He began to grasp the

reality of the People's War and the essence of Kemalism more clearly; With his keen analytical ability, he quickly wrote down what he experienced, witnessed, and observed. By the end of 1971, he saw that the realities he distilled from practice were in stark contrast to what TİİKP advocated. TİİKP; reformist, social chauvinist and Kemalist, had not been able to properly analyse the problems of the workers, peasants, or youth.

All of these contributed to the crystallisation of Kaypakkaya's ideas. With his analysis, he defined the conditions of the country and the essence of the revolution, and this forced upon him a party capable of realizing the revolution. This qualitative leap brought a party on the stage of history, equipped with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, capable of correctly analysing the masses, adopting the strategy of the people's war, and the leading section of the working class and the leaders of the people.

He quickly began to organize in T. Kurdistan; He began to work in Amed, Urfa, Mardin, Kars, Malatya, Maraş and Dersim. At the same time, activities were organised in cities, especially in Istanbul. The main purpose of all the works is that they serve to initiate and develop the armed struggle.

During this time, Kaypakkaya did not fail to meet with his comrades who shared the same thoughts as he. He declared that there was no possibility of struggle within the TİİKP and that Marxist-Leninist-Maoist views were forbidden. Meanwhile, when the conspiracy of TİİKP members Doğu Perinçek and Halil Berktaş to assassinate Kaypakkaya was revealed, all ties with the TİİKP were severed; shortly thereafter, Kaypakkaya and his comrades announced to the public that they had founded the Proletariat Party and the People's Army on April 24, 1972. Then, with the basis being that the formation of the party of the proletariat would be within the conditions of war, they quickly began to organize the work.

Kaypakkaya's theses during his 1971 Revolutionary Rising, which was a major turning point in the history of the Revolutionary Movement of Turkey, on which the revolutionary theses were met with a special interest both from his class enemies and successors and followers. Because he was the representative of the growing communist ideas in this country and that made him a "special" person. What we mean by "special" is not a "God"like, or that his theses cannot be disputed, developed or cannot be developed. Such a practice is contrary to Kaypakkaya's personal revolutionary heritage. Because when considering Kaypakkaya's approach and stance practical struggle all the way up to his murder and throughout his entire revolutionary practice, or in his own words "Out with the stale in with the new ". When Kaypakkaya comrade was discussing the party name, concluding his words, he referenced the words of comrade Lenin: " And were we to be afraid of ourselves! Were we to be content with our 'dear' dirty shirt? ... "It is time to throw away the dirty shirt, it's time to wear clean clothing "

Our party, which is the communist face of the revolutionary movement of Turkey in '71, started its struggle by " Out with the old and in with the new ". It has emerged on the stage of history by " bombing bourgeois headquarters ", fighting against the old, the decaying, the stale, the status quo, dogmatism, and reformism.

This reality shows that Comrade Kaypakkaya is a convinced Maoist and evaluates his lessons in the light of MLM science while participating in revolutionary practice. For Marxism-Leninism-Maoism advises us to test true statements in practice and enrich revolutionary theory with the lessons from this test.

Kaypakkaya, the communist face of the 1971-armed revolution, has above all a revolutionary attitude in practice. This approach has shaped his practice throughout his revolutionary struggle. This attitude in practice is the most progressive attitude, however he was still not satisfied with it, constantly seeking, and evolving and thus providing a theoretical clarification. Through the clarification that results from such a process of development, Kaypakkaya's theses have acquired the character of the "roadmap" of the Turkish revolution.

Our party has continued to represent the communist face of the struggle of the working class and labourers from Turkish and Kurdish nations, oppressed nationalities, and beliefs in the class struggle of our country during its 50-year history, has led, organised and been part of the very important resistances for half a century and has been part of mass movements. On the other hand, our struggle for communism could not reach a stage that would shake the class struggle, the ruling classes and them to their foundations.

It is not an understatement to underline this fact. On the contrary, the objective evaluation of the communist attitude and stance of half a century will make us more conscious, determined and experienced in the stormy class struggles, mass movements and people's war of the coming days.

Fracture within the fracture; Kemalism!

Fascism in Turkey arose within the ideology of Kemalism, named after Mustafa Kemal. The official historical narrative claim that Kemalism is progressive, national, populist, etc., is not so; Kemalism is fascism. It is hostile to all progressive ideas, especially communism. It arose and organized against the possibility of revolution in Turkey. It is the racist-chauvinist ideology of the Turkish comprador bourgeoisie and the big landowners. The massacre of the railway workers of Adana-Nusaybin in the 1920s, the massacre of the Kurdish people from 1925 to 1938, the murder of Mustafa Suphi and his comrades in the Black Sea; the torture and imprisonment of dozens of progressive intellectuals for years; glorification of only Turkish in language, culture, economy, and politics. The constitution being based on fascist Italian laws, etc. It is a practical proof that the ideology of Kemalism is fascist, racist and chauvinist.

In examining and analysing these facts, comrade Kaypakkaya left a great legacy in the history of the Turkish revolution by lowering the 50-year blindfold with his Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thesis that Kemalism is fascism.

Clearly, one of his most important achievements is the analysis of Kemalism. Although today it has found a much more general acceptance in the revolutionary movement with the undeniable influence of the class struggle, especially the struggle of the Kurdish National Freedom Movement, during Kaypakkaya's lifetime in the 1960s, Kemalism was, with flaws, a question full of lies and illusions. So much so that even the most revolutionary, "Marxist" leaders felt responsible for protecting M. Kemal's legacy. Kaypakkaya, on the other hand, states that Kemalism, together with its class foundations, is the official ideology of the Turkish state and as such of the Turkish ruling classes, especially the working class and peasants, the Kurdish nation and other minority nationalities, the national and democratic struggle of oppressed beliefs and everything that can develop against them, has clearly shown that the suppression of objections is their ideology.

The roots of this official ideology, called Atakürkism/Kemalism, come from the Ottoman Empire. The state tradition inherited from the Ottoman Empire, in which ethnic and religious minorities were oppressed and which was the originator of all kinds of torture, cruelty, massacres and genocide of all people, continued throughout the history of the republic by impositions according to the conditions of the day. While the fascist state administration is kneaded through and through with this racist and thuggish understanding, the tradition of assimilation, genocide and massacre continues.

Today, it is more apparent that the differences of Kemalism that emerged in the clique struggle between the Turkish ruling classes are not of stylistic but of formal political nature. Because Kemalism as the official ideology is the "official ideology" in which the ruling classes share in aggression against the people, against the Kurdish nation and other minority nationalities and beliefs, but in a clique struggle between themselves on some controversial issues. Even with the AKP government, this reality has been fiercely discussed by wider circles. But the only thing that is not mentioned or discussed in these discussions is the class character of Kemalism, its fascist nature, its exploitation and oppression of the labourers and ultimately the collaboration-servantism of imperialism.

The ideological roots of murderers, gangs, "Deep State", "Private" organizations, etc., which are on the agenda today, also go back to the Unionists and then to the Kemalists. The counter-revolutionary organizational continuity that extends from the Special Organization to the Special Warfare Department is legitimized by the ideology of Kemalism.

Kemalism, loyal servitude to imperialism in our country, the dictatorship of the ruling classes over the popular classes, the racist and chauvinist oppressive system of the Turkish nation against the Kurdish nation and other national minorities based on denial and destruction. The parliamentary-constitutional masked fascism of the Sunni-Hanafi faith especially against the Alevi faith, the Christian faith. Today, the AKP's transition to a "presidential regime" and some of its protests against Kemalism do not change the essence of the matter. The AKP has, so to speak, scratched and reproduced some of the top-down approaches of Kemalism to the masses, but held on to its essence. In this sense, Turkish Islamist Kemalism has been updated with the sauce of Islamist Turkish Kemalism; servitude to imperialism, fascist pressure and terror on the working class and the popular masses, especially the Kurdish nation, minority nationalities and beliefs have increased.

Finally, we must say this; İbrahim Kaypakkaya, in analysing Kemalism, did not create anything out of nothing, on the contrary, he examined a certain reality on a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist basis, grasped it and ensured a revolutionary break. In other words, he examined the class basis on which the ideology of Kemalism was based, became aware of it, and made an irrevocable revolutionary break.

Why is it important for our party to have a clear consciousness of Kemalism? The way to realize a real revolution in Turkey is to take a frontal position against Kemalism, the fascist ideology of the Turkish ruling classes. Real liberation is not possible without taking a clear stand against Kemalism and eliminating the influence of Kemalism within the "left" in general and the revolutionary movement.

Given the reality of the fascist dictatorship represented in the AKP today, it is extremely important that a large part of the people who define themselves as progressive, democratic, and left-wing also admire Kemalism. Kemalist fascism is proposed to the working class and the oppressed masses as an alternative to AKP fascism. A clear consciousness of the communist movement on this question is the prerequisite for a correct analysis of the actions of both wings of the ruling class cliques to prop up the movements of the masses behind their own clique interests and use them as leverage.

The importance of İbrahim Kaypakkaya's analysis of Kemalism; It comes from the fact that communists are a great weapon both for the correct analysis of the politics of the ruling classes and for understanding the revolutionary essence of the developing mass movements and directing these movements towards a revolutionary communist goal in line with the class struggle. The communist movement in our country is equipped with the accurate analysis of Kemalism and has an enormous arsenal in this regard.

Communist approach to the national question!

The second point on which Kaypakkaya, and thus our party, have made very precise determinations is the national question and, in this context, the approach to the Kurdish national question. Also with his class assessment, his open and uncompromising stance towards the oppression of the Kurdish nation in the continuation of his studies on Kemalism and his unconditional defence of the Kurdish nation's right to secession, a separate state, was an important step for the Turkish revolutionary movement.

It has dealt a considerable blow to the understandings that have been stuck in social chauvinism for years, which consider the genocide and national oppression of the Turkish ruling classes against the oppressed nations as legitimate, and in particular, ignored the Kurdish nation and clarified the stand of the proletariat on this issue through ideological condemnation.

When he wrote his article entitled National Issue, the Kurdish national question was not as burning, topical and progressive as it is today. On the other hand, he treated the problem from several perspectives in his work, explained the perspective of the proletariat on the national problem through general principles, and made the analyses of how Marxist-Leninist-Maoist should consider the current problem in the context of possible developments.

Communists have known since Marx that a special and decisive importance must be given to the existing of oppressed nations in the countries, they fight in. Since Marx said that " a people that oppresses others cannot be free ", the national question has been burned into the consciousness/communist consciousness as an unforgivable problem in the class struggle, especially in the revolutionary march of the proletariat. The practices of Lenin and Stalin and their theories have proved this. This attitude of the communists continues to be registered by reality. As a communist, Kaypakkaya also dealt with the problem in our country and acted from the point of view of the liberation of the proletariat, which he adopted from the beginning, with the concern of being part of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed afterwards suffering injustice.

Comrade Kaypakkaya's theses on the national question are important not only for the revolutionary movement in Turkey, but also for the approach of the communist movement, especially of the Middle East, to the national question and the contradictions that this question raises. Kaypakkaya followed an MLM line with his attitude towards the national problem and the solution he proposed, and, in this sense, he brought an important theoretical opening to the international proletariat. In this respect, he proved to be a good disciple of the communist masters. He successfully used the theses of the masters on the national question to study the Kurdish national question under Turkish conditions. Moreover, this was done under conditions in which the Kurdish national problem was not as burning as it is today, the Kurdish national freedom movement was not as advanced, and the opposition was not as sharp.

The MLM line of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on the national question led our party TKP-ML to mention in his article on the national question not only the national oppression against the Kurdish nation, but also the Armenian genocide, which was a taboo then and remains a taboo today. This is extremely important. He not only pointed to an accurate MLM analysis on the national question, but based on this analysis, he analysed that Armenians, Jews, Greeks, etc. were subjected to genocide by the then Ottomans and the Turkish Republic to loot their wealth and confiscate their belongings. This analysis is an important blow to the foundations of the Turkish state. According to TKP-ML, chauvinism, denial and annihilationist policies towards oppressed nations and national minorities form the essence of Kemalist ideology.

Maoism: The name of Marxism Leninism today!

To gradually throw off the "dead soil" of the revolutionary movement in our country; In the years when the impact of revisionism, reformism and modern revisionism began to break with the militant mass upsurge and the ideological and political alignments accelerated, the debates between the CPSU and the CCP showed this alignment most clearly. More specifically, it is the orientation of the CCP led by Chairman Mao against Khrushchev's modern revisionism in which the Marxist-Leninist stance is taken.

During this period, Comrade Ibrahim took a stand for the ML line of the CCP led by Chairman Mao in the discussions between Khrushchev's modern revisionism and the CCP within the international communist movement. The impact of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Comrades Mao's " Bomb the bourgeois headquarters! Crucially, the "instruction" resonated with Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. In fact, TKP-ML continued his struggle against modern revisionism by continuing this line.

As a young revolutionary, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya also studied the Marxist-Leninist classics that he could obtain under the conditions of the time, while learning from the mass movements in which he found himself. From the accounts of comrades-in-arms of the period, it is apparent that Kaypakkaya

was a good reader, but was not content with reading, but was a revolutionary who actively used what he had read both in the structure in which he was organized and in the youth debates of his time. This attitude shows that he was not only revolutionary in practice, but also evaluated the experience of practice with the science of MLM and achieved a synthesis. Kaypakkaya examined the entire ML oeuvre he could reach under the conditions of the time and determined his standing accordingly. This clear stance fundamentally distinguishes him from other revolutionary leaders of his time. The fact that he represents the communist face of the armed revolutionary rising of '71 is also due to his clear stance in the orientation within the international communist movement.

Our Party TKP-ML defends that this communist line, for which Kaypakkaya laid the foundation in its history of half a century, is on the level of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the line developed by Chairman Mao based on Marxism-Leninism came alive in different parts of the world, with the successful acceleration of people's war practices, theoretical debates within the International Communist Movement reached an important level along with many other communist parties. Mao Zedong's formulation of Maoism was accepted by naming his qualitative contributions to Marxism-Leninism. Instead of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (ML-MZT), which it had used before, our party made an important statement that "Marxism-Leninism cannot be defended without defending Maoism".

While many petty-bourgeois organizations, influenced by the prestige of Chairman Mao and the CPC in the years when our Party was founded, rejected Mao's contributions to ML, our Party insisted on this attitude and maintained its scientific stance. TKP-ML's insistence on MLM science became the guarantee of his communist line and protected it, not only from counterrevolutionary attacks but also from reformist, opportunist, and modern revisionist attacks.

Moreover, Comrade Mao's contribution to ML in qualitative points and his position in the science of revolution as MLM stage has a different meaning. From this, the true significance of the Chinese revolution and Chairman Mao can be understood. It was in the "age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions" that the question of recognizing the weaknesses of imperialism and its collaborators and developing an appropriate war strategy became clear; it was clear that imperialism and its collaborators were weaker in rural areas than in cities, and that the struggle for power would develop through people's war.

With this determination, the question of how the revolution should take place in countries like ours was now answered. Which at the same time contains the answers to the questions about the arrival of ML in the MLM phase. In the philosophical field, in the field of political economy, in the field of scientific socialism, Chairman Mao's qualitative contributions to the basic components of ML can be seen when this is understood.

In the light of Comrade Kaypakkaya and his views, TKP-ML deals with the Chinese revolution and its development strategy with these aspects examined and the universal lessons from this practice on the countryside, concrete and class struggle practice tried to adapt. Kaypakkaya advanced understanding of MLM is based on the main contradictions and the main contradiction, his understanding of the two-line struggle within the party, the path of the revolution, its starting point, its development, his understanding of the war strategy of the people, class alliances, his understanding of "red political foundations" and the basic theses he put in this direction. It is easy to see ... As a matter of fact, Kaypakkaya embodies this situation with the words: "Our movement is the product of GPCR".

As a result, we can say that; In the concrete case of our country, GPCR is most clearly reflected in the foundation of TKP-ML. Our Party has expressed its clear position in orientation within the International Communist Movement also within the country and achieved a final break by fighting against revisionism and reformism based on MLM. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has shaped the basic features that distinguish our Party TKP-ML from the revolutionary parties and organizations

of the same period and later. Our party is a communist party because it is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, it is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist because it is a communist party.

TKP-ML and the struggle for communism have an internationalist character!

In line with İbrahim Kaypakkaya's views on the values and experiences of the International Communist Movement and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist approach in the conditions of the time, TKP-ML embraced Mao's approach, adopted the analysis that the USSR was revisionist after Stalin's death and social- imperialist since the 1960s. The Party enthusiastically embraced the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and regarded Mao as the fifth master of the international proletariat.

The international field activity of our party dates to the founding years. It is known that with the foundation of our party steps were taken into the international arena and meetings were held with some parties in this direction. The systematic processing of our work in the international arena begins with the 1st Conference period. Since that process, our activities have been marked by important steps, selfless efforts and works in this direction through half a century of history, and despite the setbacks sometimes experienced, our party has always taken a sincere and responsible line for Maoist unity in the international arena.

Our Party speaks of a twofold feature of international activity. The first is to increase activity in our country and crown it with revolution; the second is to be in solidarity with the revolutions of other countries and ensure the mutual transfer of knowledge, experience, and expertise. In its 50-year struggle, our Party adopted its approach to international activities as " developing the country's revolution to serve the world revolution!" and organized its practical activities according to this understanding.

Although the problems experienced by the communist movement after the death of Chairman Mao created a positive wind with the burning effect of the people's wars led by communists in some countries, the defeats, and blockades of these people's wars, especially the attitude of their leadership, were the last for the communist movement to face and repel this counter-revolutionary wave, resulting in a very negative situation.

Despite this objective situation, the following fact must be stated: The imperialist capitalist system is in crisis. The peoples of the world are on the streets, in action. The peoples do not accept the living conditions, exploitation, oppression, and massacres imposed on them. Before the pandemic, which arose because of the greed for profit and exploitation of the imperialist capitalist system, there was an enormous mobility of the masses in about 50 countries. Although the ruling classes suppressed this movement of the masses to a certain extent due to pandemic prohibitions, they could not end the rebellion, anger, and reaction of the masses to the conditions they found themselves in. The coming years are marked by new uprisings of the proletariat and oppressed peoples. New uprisings, springs, serhildans, intifadas... It will pave the way for people's wars and revolutionary rebellions.

The future belongs to the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples! The future is the Democratic People's Revolutions and Socialist Revolutions! Because communism is born out of the imperialist capitalist system and the progress of history continues despite all the twists, retreats, and defeats.

The insistence on armed struggle is the insistence on revolution!

The combination of the above-mentioned insatiable anger of the peoples of the world and the expression of this anger in various forms with the revolutionary and communist vanguard waging an armed struggle will end the imperialist-capitalist system. Comrade Mao's statement " If a people have no army, it has nothing " retains its value and meaning in today's conditions where the imperialist capitalists and their local lackey collaborators are armed to the teeth. In the system of exploitation, where gains are wiped out in one small blow by struggles at the cost of lives, the only way to protect these gains and flow into revolutionary struggle is through armed struggle, the

people's war in our country. In other words, the revolutionary struggle is won by all forms and means of struggle but based on armed struggle. TKP-ML considers all forms of struggle from this point of view.

It is possible to understand this reality even from the reflexes of the ruling classes. That the "spectre of communism" kept the ruling classes awake for a while in countries where the people's war was successfully waged, such as India, the Philippines, Brazil, Peru, and Nepal, has a legitimate reason. The Peruvian state, directly responsible for the assassination of President Gonzalo, the leader of the Peruvian Communist Party and the People's War, after 29 years of total isolation, has a reason to hide even his cremated funeral with a special law. This is the fear of knowing that the continuing armed struggle of the Maoist parties, who have creatively applied the People's War to the specific conditions of their country, will bring their end, and this is by no means an abstract situation.

The insistence on armed struggle has long been reflected in the territory of Rojava. The fact that the Syrian Kurds, who do not even have means of identification, first build self-defence units, then become an army and create "miracles" by resisting the Turkish state and its gangs, is an example of what a people can achieve when they have an army and use the right military strategy. TKP-ML has gained great experience as a humble part of this honourable and just struggle; in return, the party has drawn important conclusions from this struggle.

The cause of our failures is our ideological inadequacy!

Even though our party has achieved significant successes and positions in the class struggle despite half a century since its foundation, it has not succeeded in destroying fascism and thereby establishing the People's Democratic Power. There are many reasons for this objective fact. However, the most important point to grasp is the inadequacy of our party to grasp the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Our 50-year history has shown us that our party has made significant progress in the class struggle to the extent that it has grasped the science of MLM and made progress in the practice of people's war and armed struggle. Conversely, when it backslid in its understanding of MLM ideology, it experienced setbacks, suffered defeats and lost the positions it had won.

The loss of our party's leading cadres, especially our founding leader İbrahim Kaypakkaya, in the practice of class struggle has had an impact on our party's experience of creating the continuation of this line within the leadership. One year after its founding, our party lost its central structure and suffered a heavy defeat with the capture and assassination of its leading cadres, especially comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya. Again, after the military-fascist junta of 12 September 1980, although it continued its struggle against fascism under difficult conditions, it suffered a second defeat in the face of the attacks of the fascist junta.

The defeats and losses that our party had suffered in the practice of class struggle were effective in its inability to create a continuous line of leadership. This objective reality has led to our Party having problems in grasping MLM ideology and applying it to the reality of the country's class struggle. Our shortcomings in understanding MLM have led to some shortcomings in our struggle against left and right liquidationism and all kinds of opportunist lines within the party. The fact that the party is a contradiction teaches that opportunism from the right and from the left will arise within itself, and the main problem, moreover, is that the communist line will become stronger in a relentless struggle against these lines.

One of the mistakes often made in understanding the 50-year history of our party is that the factions, putschist, liquidationist attacks and splits have weakened the party and that it therefore has not been successful in the class struggle. Although at a first glance this approach seems correct, it is incomplete. Of course, there is the emergence of these lines and the damage they have done to our party. The most important point to understand, however; is the inadequacy of our party's understanding of MLM ideology. Due to this inadequacy, our Party fought against the factions, but

this fight could not develop and strengthen the communist line itself. The stages could not adequately be analysed and nor analyse the relationship between the internal processes and the class struggle in our country, and so, while struggling with these lines, as a complement to this struggle on the other hand, it could not strengthen its communist line by discarding the old and creating the new.

This situation led to the fact that our party had problems to connect with the mass struggles that developed in the practice of the class struggle, to learn from these struggles and to reproduce and lead its own communist line. This is the reason why our party could not develop and become stronger and was not able to lead the class struggle as it should. Our history of more than half a century shows us that our party is significantly deficient in this respect, and this objective reality is also reflected in the fact that our party does not occupy the place it deserves in the class struggle.

To Revolution with the Party! Glory to our 1st Congress!

Our Party TKP-ML, at its 1st Party Congress, has drawn up the programme of struggle pertaining to the forthcoming process, shaped its approach and put forward the general direction that will guide it from this perspective.

Our Party Congress has undertaken very important tasks concerning our Party history and has covered a great distance by discussing the problems we face on many issues. Undoubtedly, our resolve to challenge the heavy burden of the legacy problems also carries our obligations for the future.

Our congress studied and analysed the forms of class struggle in our present geography today and from there has set its goals and tasks for the future. In like manner, discussing the current reality of our party, it filtered its ideological, political, organisational, and military situations through a scientific filter and reached certain decisions.

* One of the most significant steps of our party congress is that it created the party program after half a century. This is a step of historic importance. In the period leading up to our congress, no party programme was drawn up; the "programmatic views" of Comrade Kaypakkaya were contented with. This undoubtedly is a paramount shortcoming. Because comrade Kaypakkaya mentions the party's statute and programme and ideological unity for a party to become a party. After comrade Kaypakkaya, our party established its charter at its 1st congress but did not establish a programme, and in this sense, it lacked one aspect of a "true party". In our 1st Congress, this shortcoming was remedied.

* Our Party has updated its charter based on the lessons it has derived from the process it has gone through, the various accumulations that the class struggle has uncovered in our country, and, of course, based on our position in the women's struggle.

* Our congress analysed the social and economic conditions of Turkey and Turkey- Kurdistan and pointed out the existence of new contradictions among the main contradictions of Turkish society at the present stage. These are the conflict between the oppressor nation and the oppressed nation and nationalities, the conflict between the patriarchal system and the oppressed gender, the conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed beliefs and the conflict between the system and the ecological system. All these contradictions that come to the fore along with other contradictions in the Turkish society in which we live and struggle.

* Our Party, has set itself a goal to be fulfilled with all its dynamics, besides its orientation in the ideological, political, and organisational fields, with its short- and medium-term plans, especially the task of developing the People's War, organising itself mainly within the working class in the cities, stronger integration with the Kurdish people, the women of the society, the public youth, the unemployed masses etc.

* Our Party has taken an important step against patriarchy by creating a new organisation in this field, in addition to new articles such as the "women's quota" which it has included in its statutes. Following this, it decided to create the Communist Women's Union as an independent organization, concretizing the slogan " No revolution without women, women cannot be liberated without revolution " in the organizational field. It explicitly stressed the importance of the struggle against all kinds of homophobia and transphobia against LGBTI+s, which patriarchy oppresses, suppresses, and exploits, and has included this issue in both its charter and programme.

* Our Party, underlining that our country is part of the Middle Eastern geography, that was one of the storm centres of the revolution, stressed the importance of facing this geography more in the struggle for the revolution, and formulated this orientation as "Middle Easternization". By drawing thicker lines between us and the Kemalist, the enlightenment and modernist currents, this formulation - to the extent that we implemented it - helps us to understand the ground on which we are fighting for the revolution, the people, their contradictions, demands, etc., emphasizing that it serves to analyse more accurately.

Our Party, at its 1st Party Congress, in addition to these articles, made many determinations and set itself numerous tasks. It is undoubtedly important to identify all these. It is not an easy thing to acknowledge the truth, then to decide what to do and then how to do it. But the most important thing is to be able to achieve it. This primarily, requires a strong will, persistent and pertinacious effort. Discipline, perseverance, and self-sacrifice are required. In accordance with the orientation set by our Party, all cadres and fighters, all supporters and sympathizers have great duties. Everyone should participate with all their might in the actions and activities to be carried out on the 50th anniversary of our Party and work with an excited spirit of mobilisation.

Our 50-year struggle is our will to win the future!

Our Party, which in its 50-year history has managed to master countless prison breaks and resistance, has accomplished important exercises in the dungeons. With the approach "what matters is not to fall prisoner, but not to surrender", the resistance to fascism, with tens of thousands of prisoners in the history of half a century and in the fight against the prisons with its martyrs and veterans of the struggle, the party has achieved significant successes.

Our Party, which led the "2nd September Resistance of the slums" in the fight for the right to housing and housing in Turkey and carried out countless guerrilla actions and resistance in the mountains and cities, continues its fight against fascism with the same determination, a fight that toppled half a century.

Since its inception, TKP-ML has followed the practice and approach of working with revolutionary parties and organizations, developing short- and long-term alliances of action, and long-term alliances. In our half-century history, there have been times when this understanding has been put into practice. Finally, our party participated in the People's United Revolutionary Movement and the Women's United Revolutionary Movement with the consciousness of developing the armed struggle and striking more effective blows against fascism.

We have been here for half a century, we are in the trenches of the war against fascism in all fields, and we will continue to be. We have done it before; we are doing it now and we will continue to do it in the future. We will shake the world from Turkish soil once again. We continue to take our place in the trenches of the class struggle and build our assertion and resolve through our shortcomings, mistakes, defeats and of course with our successes, positivity. We continue our contributions to the Turkish revolutionary movement and our strikes and victories against the enemy.

This is dialectical materialism. There are victories and defeats, progress, and setbacks. Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya quoted Chairman Mao: "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again, act like

that until victory, that is the logic of the people." That is what our Party has done and will do. Until it triumphs, crushes fascism, and founds the New Democratic Turkey! Our fear is the same as that of our leading comrade. Comrade Ibrahim only feared that our party would fall behind the spontaneous struggle of the masses; " The world economic crisis is getting deeper. This crisis will worsen the crisis in the country and mass struggles will rise in waves. I personally fear that if we continue like this, we will not be able to keep up with these waves, we will be left behind. The spontaneous development is much faster than the pioneer. You can't see that. Since you can't see, you don't strive perfectly, we don't." Our party will act in accordance with comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya's instruction to "make excellent efforts" in accordance with his aim to " raise the red flag on Mount Dundül " in his last letter he wrote to us from Amed Prison on February 28, 1973, " Hello, I embrace you warmly... I wish you a harder, stronger, and more determined war. Goodbye " his wish will come true.

Our party will win with the resistance of comrade Suleyman Cihan who did not reveal any secrets in torture and with the courage to face all kinds of difficulties.... Our party will win with the determination of comrade Kazım Çelik, who roamed the mountains, and his insistence on the people's war....

Our party will strictly adhere to the slogan "The situation is good, because the facts are revolutionary" in our march, which comrade Mehmet Demirdağ called " on a knife edge through storms ",and with his order" You have to write it"

Our party will win by working according to the will of comrade Halil Çakıroğlu: " Let me, strengthen the party "....

Our party said: "We will prepare a position in the mountains to fight for you all. We are waiting for you ", Barbara Anna Kistler will win with the international spirit of our comrades...

Our party will win with the determination of comrade Emre Bilgin who said: " You have to smash my face to smash my smile "....

Our party will win with the faith of comrade Polat Iyit who lost his life under dungeon conditions with the words " I will live as long as there is a struggle and a party " Our party will win with the courage of comrade Özgür Kemal Karabulut, the revolutionary of hard times....

Our party will win with the boldness of comrade Barış Aslan who adopted the slogan of " Beat the old, shoulder the new "....

Our party said: " Every part of us lives in the brains of our comrades. How can they get it? He will win with the fearlessness of Muharrem Horoz...

Our party will win with the consciousness of comrade Leyla Karakoç's "I cannot fall into individualism of thinking only of my own children " and will inhabit the mountains.

Our party will win with the courage of comrade Cihan Fındık in the Eurogold protest and his insistence on joining the guerrillas.

Our party will win with the practice of becoming immortal by overcoming the fears of comrade Dilek Polat.

Our party will go with the attitude of comrade Dursun Çaktı, who is aware of his responsibility and does not hesitate to participate and will win with his devoted sharing.

Our party will win if it acts according to the simple instruction of comrade Sefagül Kesgin "let everybody do their work" and if it concentrates on the tasks of the class struggle.

Our party will win with the will of Comrade Yetiş alone, who did not pause for a moment to defend what he thinks is right.

Our party will win if your comrade Cengiz İçli is wherever duty calls.

Our party will win by practicing the slogan of comrade Serdar Can "The commander is the commander at the front " under all conditions.

Our party will never forget the sweat of Comrade Güzel Şahin and win by taking her youthful energy as a model.

Our party will win with our comrade Nubar Ozanyan's practice of " being where injustice is " and his perseverance in the struggle.

And our party will win for the will and aspirations of many more immortals whose names we cannot mention here!

We will win with the experience and accumulation of the 50th year!

We will win! The proletariat and the oppressed rights will win!

TKP-ML (Communist Party of Turkey- Marxist Leninist)

